

Historical Background and
Architectural Analysis of

THE BULLOCK HOUSE AND STORE
Royalston, Massachusetts

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to
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I. Summary Statement of Significance

Architecturally, the Bullock House is a fine vernacular example of an early nineteenth-century Federal-style mansion -- the most distinguished dwelling-house of its period and style in the Royalston Common Historic District. Its exterior is particularly distinguished by the following original features: the two-story corner pilasters and block modillion cornice; the balustraded front entry porch; the four major Federal-style doorways. The most significant interior features include: the elaborately detailed second-floor ballroom with coved ceiling (although this space has been subdivided); the extensive early nineteenth-century stencilling found throughout the house; the unusual store interior with its twin, ^{free-standing,} solid core Roman Doric columns; and the distinctive gouge-carved woodwork (representative, perhaps, of the work of a particular, unidentified carver-joiner active in north-central Massachusetts at about this time -- see the similar gouge carving on the doorways of two Federal-style houses on Route 68 between Otter River and Baldwinville). An important later interior feature is the late nineteenth century black walnut staircase in the cross-hallway. The Bullock House may also be of interest architecturally as an early attempt to design a mansion-caliber two-family dwelling (although it is not absolutely certain that a two-family use was originally intended); and it is definitely of interest architecturally as an ^{early} design which successfully integrates both commercial and domestic functions within a single building.

Historically, the Bullock House and Store was probably built for, and was long the homestead of, "the most distinguished man who spent his life in Royalston," Rufus Bullock. School teacher, store keeper, and woolen mill owner, Rufus Bullock started poor but eventually became one of the richest men in Massachusetts and a leading citizens of Royalston. Besides the importance of Bullock himself, the store which he (in partnership, apparently, with his brother, ^{CARNEY} ~~Milton~~ Bullock ^{2nd}) established in the southern wing of the house, was a significant

factor in the early nineteenth-century development of the village on Royalston Common as a rural trading center. The village's importance as a commercial node has long since faded, but the well-preserved Bullock House and Store still provide a critical, physical link back to that early commercial phase of Royalston Centre's development.

II. Historical Background

A. Date of construction and names of original owners

The main block of the present house and the structurally integral southern (store) wing were apparently built for Rufus and Molton 2nd Bullock, brothers and Royalston traders, sometime between 1807 and 1815.

Reasoning. The Bullock brothers purchased the original 2½-acre lot on which the present house stands on October 26, 1807 (see appended summary chain of title); Rufus Bullock was assessed, on April 1, 1815 for a two-story dwelling-house measuring 43' by 46' -- these are ^{almost} the exact dimensions of the main block of the present house (see Royalston Tax List, 1815, in American Antiquarian Society). That the present building is not one of the two dwelling houses which were standing on the lot when the Bullocks acquired it is supported by: the increase in the value of this parcel during the period 1807-1816; and the fact the "wisdom and energy" of Rufus Bullock's wife, Sarah (Davis) Bullock (the couple filed their intention to marry on May 4, 1808) are reported to have "helped to build" the present house (Royalston Centennial, ~~XX~~ ~~XX~~ quoted in Crane, I: 19-20).

B. Other early buildings which may have stood on, or been moved onto, this site

1. When acquired by the Bullocks in 1807, the 2½-acre lot was occupied by two dwelling-houses, one barn, a shop, and a horseshed. Exact locations and eventual dispositions of these buildings are unknown.

2. In 1815 Rufus Bullock purchased 1½ acres of land lying between the original 2½-acre house lot and the Warwick Road; this lot then contained a potash works "and also a house or shop adjoining belonging to the aforementioned tract of land although standing on a piece of land the said Joseph Estabrooks deeded to the town of Royalston for a common" (Worc. Deeds 202:309; see also 148:382). The exact location and eventual disposition of this building is unknown.

3. Henry and Samuel (Jr.) Godard, brothers and Royalston traders, owned the $2\frac{1}{2}$ -acre Bullock houselot in 1802-03, along with a 1+ acre parcel directly east of it (this 1+ acre piece was deeded by the Godards to the Town for use as a common in 1802 -- Worc. Deeds 148:384) and they may also have owned other parcels nearby. Lilley Caswell (p. 256) wrote of the Godard brothers that they, with Squire Peck and one Pierce "kept store in the middle of the town near the site of the Rufus Bullock residence. They were burned out." The fire probably occurred by 1803 at the latest. The exact location of the Godard store building is unknown, but it could conceivably have been on the $2\frac{1}{2}$ -acre parcel eventually acquired by the Bullocks.

C. Original owners: Rufus and Molton 2nd Bullock

The two oldest sons of Hugh and Rebecca Bullock of Royalston, Rufus and Molton 2nd Bullock may have initially been partners in the country store business which seems to have been carried on in the southern wing of the present house; they may also have shared the house itself -- the inclusion of an apparently original ^Kitchen fireplace/bake oven arrangement in both of the rear chimney stacks at the first floor level, as well as the use of an uncommon central- and cross-hallways floor plan in the main body of the house, would support the theory that the house was originally intended for two-family use.

1. Very little is known of Molton Bullock, 2nd. In 1816 he sold his half interest in the Royalston Common property to his brother Rufus; a deed written three years later calls him "of Boston, trader." (Worc. Deeds 242:229).
2. Rufus Bullock bought out his brother's interest in 1816, and he owned the Royalston common property until his death in 1858. A school teacher, trader, and woolen manufacturer, he has been called "Perhaps the most distinguished man who spent his life in the town of Royalston" (Crane, I:19). He was the sole Royalston resident to be included in Our First Men: or a Catalogue of the Richest Men in Massachusetts,

published in 1851, where his personal fortune was estimated at \$300,000 and his early career was summarized as follows:

"Started poor. Very economical in his style of living, and unbounded in his liberality. The first money he got was by catching woodchucks and selling the skins. Afterwards, went to work for ten dollars a month, taught school on the Cape; then went into a store in Keene. Attends to his own business." (Forbes & Greene, p. 138)

- a. Concerning Rufus Bullock's store on Royalston Common; Lilley Caswell wrote:

"Early in the last century Rufus Bullock, after tending store as a clerk, was induced to open a store on the Common on his own account, which was located where his residence was, now the summer home of the Hill family. There he had intended to settle down in life as a country merchant; later when he engaged in manufacturing at South Royalston the store business was carried on in an ell to the Bullock residence by his brother, Barnett Bullock, who had associated with him his sons Calvin and Charles and did an extensive business." (Caswell, p. 446)

- b. Concerning Rufus Bullock's South Royalston woolen mill -- Rufus Bullock purchased "The Royalston Factory" in South Royalston from Silas Coffin in 1823 (Worc. Deeds 235:37) and he continued to own the property until the time of his death in 1858. According to the 1850 Census, the mill then employed 70 operatives in the production of cassimeres and doeskins (1850 U.S. Census schedules, Mass. State Archives).
- c. Concerning Rufus Bullock's Royalston farm -- according to Ellery Crane:

"He always conducted a farm and took time to work in the fields himself, notwithstanding the demands of his store and factory." (Crane, I:19)

As described in the 1850 census, the Rufus Bullock farm consisted of 274 acres, 150 of which were improved and were used in the production of wheat, Indian corn, oats, Irish

potatoes, hay, and various "orchard products." The livestock at that time consisted of 1 horse, 9 milch cows, 6 working oxen and 2 swine. (1850 U.S Census schedules)

- d. Concerning Rufus Bullock's political activity: he was
 State Senator -- 1831, '32
 State Representative -- 1820, '21, '27, '28, '29
 Representative to the State Constitutional Convention --
 1820, '53
 Town Clerk -- 1812, '13
 Town Treasurer -- 1825-37 inclusive
 Town assessor -- six years between 1807 and 1826.
- e. Concerning Rufus Bullock's son, Gov. Alexander H. Bullock, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1866, '67, '68 -- born in Royalston in 1816 and raised in his father's mansion on the common, A.H. Bullock left Royalston to attend Amherst College in 1832 and is not known to have been a Royalston resident at any time thereafter. His successful political career was begun after he had settled in Worcester.
- f. Concerning Rufus Bullock's Royalston household as of 1850 -- according to the 1850 census:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Rufus Bullock	71	Manuf ^r	Mass.
Sarah D. "	69		N.H.
Emily "	39		Mass.
Michael White	23	Farmer	"
Timothy O'Connor	28	Laborer	Ireland
Elizabeth Higgins	19		Mass.

(1850 U.S. Census schedules, Royalston, house no. 127)

D. Later owners, 1858-1979

1. Emily (Bullock) Ripley, and William D. Ripley, 1858 - 1891. In 1858 Emily Bullock inherited a one-third interest in the Bullock homestead under the terms of her father's will. In 1859 she bought the remaining two-thirds interest of her brother and sister. In that year or the next she

married William D. Ripley, a Norwich, Connecticut merchant, and he came to live with her in the Bullock mansion in Royalston. Lilley Caswell wrote of William D. Ripley that he "was for many years a familiar figure on Royalston Common," and that "his home at the old Bullock mansion on on Royalston Common was one of culture and refinement and approached the ideal of an old time country seat. He was a man of fine presence, courteous manner, and exemplary character. He died in 1880 at the age of eighty-one years." (Caswell, p. 378)

Under the terms of Rufus Bullock's will, his widow, Sarah, was to have a life use of the Royalston house while his unmarried sister, Candace Bullock, and his widowed daughter, Rebecca (Bullock) Wheeler, were to be allowed to live in the house as long as they remained unmarried. Rebecca Wheeler chose not to live in Royalston, but widow Sarah Bullock continued to live in the Royalston mansion into the 1870s and Aunt Candace Bullock was a member of the Ripley household, as well, until at least 1880.

The Ripley household as reported in the 1860 census returns;

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
Sarah Bullock	77		N.H.
William D. Ripley	57	Merchant	Conn.
Emily "	48		Mass.
Candace Bullock	60		"
John Addison	23	Farm Laborer	"
John Lynch	17	" "	Ireland
Margaret Conklin	20		"
*Esther W. Goddard	43		Mass.
*Mary T. Goddard	15		"
*Lucie Goddard	12		"

(1860 U.S. Census schedules, Royalston, house no. 778.)

(*The three Goddards are listed as a separate household distinct from the Bullock/Ripleys, but sharing with them the occupancy of the Bullock homestead. The relationship between the Goddards and the Bullocks/Ripleys is not known.)

The Ripley household as reported in the 1870 census returns:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
William Ripley	68	Farmer	Conn.
Emily B. Ripley	58	Keeping house	Mass.
William Parke	35	Work on farm	Ireland
Catherine Parke	35	Housekeeper	"
Archible Scotts	26	Work on farm	"
Susan Given	22	Domestic Servant	"
Candace Bullock	70	No occupation	Mass.
Sarah D. Bullock	88	" "	N.H.

(1870 U.S. Census schedules, Royalston, house no. 221)

The Ripley household as reported in the 1880 census returns:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>
William D. Ripley	79	Retired merchant	Conn.
Emily B. Ripley	68	Keeping house	Mass.
Mary Sylvester	35	Servant	N.Y.
Sarah Andrews	25	Servant	Ireland
Candace Bullock	80		Mass.

(1880 U.S. Census schedules, Royalston, house no. 35).

2. The Hill family, 1891-1963. In 1891, Emily (Bullock) Ripley sold the Royalston homestead to William H. Hill, a Boston banker and stockbroker, whose family would use the Bullock mansion as a summer residence for the next seventy years. Hill's permanent address was 81 Marion Street, Brookline. The Royalston property passed to the stockbroker's son (?) Donald M. Hill, a lawyer, in 1913. Donald M. Hill died in possession of the property in 1963; his heirs sold the Royalston house and land to the Royalston Academy, Inc. in 1963.

3. Royalston Academy, Inc., 1963-1978. The Bullock property was included in an ambitious plan to preserve the historic structures around Royalston Common through a sympathetic conversion to use as a private academy. In connection with this project, some minor rehabilitation work was undertaken

in the west ell of the house in 19⁷¹~~59~~. The academy plan eventually foundered, however, and the Bullock mansion was sold again in the summer of 1978 to the present owners --

4. Werner and Patience Bundschuh, 1978- . A cinematographer and a freelance graphic designer, who are presently (1979) rehabilitating the house.

III. Architectural Analysis

A. Evolution of the building's overall form

1. The main block of the house and the southern (store) wing clearly appear to have been built in a single campaign, probably undertaken (see Historical Background section) sometime between 1807 and 1815.

Structural evidence - cellar and attic framing both appear to be continuous between both sections; the SW chimney stack, which appears to be original, is located astride the line between the two sections, rather than inside the block of the main house, as would have been expected if the wing was a later addition.

Stylistic evidence - most of the apparently original wooden trim in the two sections is stylistically identical.

2. The western ell, composed of distinctly separate inner and outer portions, is clearly a later addition (of uncertain date) to the main house/wing.

Structural evidence - the sheathing of that portion of the back wall of main house/wing which is visible in the attic of the inner section of the ell clearly shows a.) a blocked-in window opening (also visible in the second-floor ballroom above the store) and b.) a clear pattern of nail holes for clapboards. Both features indicate that this was once an exposed, exterior wall.

Concerning the date of the addition - of the two 19th-century Worcester County atlases which I have found showing complete (?) outlines of each individual dwelling-house, including attached wings and ells, only the 1898 Richards atlas shows both the southern wing and the western ell -- the 1870 Beers atlas shows only the southern wing. This evidence must be taken with a grain of salt, however, as these 19th-century atlases are not known to be 100% accurate, and there is some stylistic evidence to suggest that at least the inner portion of the western ell could have been added very much earlier, perhaps even as early as the 1820s: Stylistically, the inner portion of the ell appears to date from the early 19th century.

Moreover, those specific elements of both the ell and the main house/wing which would likely have been reworked in the process of adding the ell, are similarly early 19th century in character. Note specifically the beaded edge sheathing which covers the ell side of the joint between house and ell, and the similar beaded edge sheathing used in the (clearly added) partition between the store and the back hallway leading to the ell in the original southern wing.

B. Exterior features of the original building

1. Porches and doorways

a. Front (east) porch and doorway. An original front entry porch and doorway with some later alterations. The porch appears to be entirely original except for replaced column bases; the three missing half-balusters are now in the ell attic, and one of them still holds a small finish nail with machine-made shaft and hand-made head, dating probably from the 1790-1820 period. The fanlight with "Gothic" tracery is probably original; a rather similar Federal-style doorway with similar tracery can be seen at 50 Central Street (Route 68) Baldwinville, roughly ten miles away.

Alterations: the door itself should be a mid-19th century replacement, the original Federal-style front door likely resembled the Federal 6-panel door (with later glass inserted in the four upper panels) which survives in the North doorway.

the etched glass sidelights should be a mid-nineteenth century replacement,

the reeded pilaster north of the doorway is a modern replacement.

the original column bases have both been replaced with cast concrete substitutes. The original bases should have been of wood and their molding profiles should have matched those used on the remaining original pilaster base.

b. North porch and doorway. An added Colonial Revival style sleeping porch (said to have been added by the Hill family) now covers an original, slightly altered Federal

style side doorway. The porch is of minor historical interest as an illustration of the building's turn of the century use as a wealthy family's summer home; the side doorway underneath is an important original feature of the house. The porch appears to be of one build; is put together with wire nails, and stands on poured concrete foundations. Incorporated in it is a mid-19th century screen door with three arch-headed upper panels; this screen door was likely made to go over the original side door around 1860? and was relocated here when the sleeping porch was added. The original Federal style side doorway remains intact except for the presumed replacement of the original ornamental fanlight over the door (original resembling, perhaps, that which remains over the front door?) by the present sheet of glass; and the insertion of four panes of glass into the four upper panels of the original Federal-style six-panel door. I found no evidence of any earlier porch at this location.

c. South (store) porch and doorways. This porch (portions of it, at least) may be an original feature of the house; if not original, it should have been built very soon after the house was completed. Structural evidence: the foundation wall under the eastern (front) wall of the store (rather imperfectly seen from inside the crawl space underneath the store) appears to have been built entirely of rubble stone, and to lack the dressed granite facing blocks found on all other portions of the building's foundations which were originally exposed to outside view; and, the two central porch columns (those flanking the doorway to the store) are each turned from a single log (as are the two columns inside the store) rather than built up of small segments around a hollow core as was commonly done in later work. However, these columns do not match exactly those two interior columns -- their molding profiles are slightly different.

Alterations: late 19th century stereographs of the house (SPNEA Col.) show this porch to have then had six columns instead of the present four; four lattice work trellises (which I believe survive in the attic of the "engine house" just south of the house) in the intermediate and end bays; and

a hipped outer end to the roof, rather than the present continuous shed (scars from the cornice of this earlier hip are still visible on the corner pilaster of the store).

both of the central (solid) columns have had their bases replaced.

the inner and outer columns are both later, built-up replacements.

the porch flooring and ceiling have both been replaced.

d. South doorway into main house. An original Federal-style side doorway, slightly more elaborate than its North-side equivalent. Doorframe appears completely original; plain fanlight should be a replacement; door itself is a mid-19th century replacement -- its three round-headed upper panels bespeak the Italianate style, and match the unusual wooden screen door with similar panelling now at the south end of porch.

e. East doorway into store. An apparently completely original doorway enframingent of rather conservative design for this time, with apparently original sunken panel double leaf doors. Untouched and quite handsome.

f. Former minor doorway into store. A former small doorway through the southernmost bay of the eastern wall of the store wing has long since been boarded in, but its beaded edge frame remains. This doorway was not original, however, as there is clear evidence in the clapboards for an earlier window in this bay. The machine-made heads of the nails used to apply the clapboards over the boarded-up doorway suggest that this doorway ^{was} closed in the nineteenth century.

g. West doorway into store. A later alteration, probably put in by the Hill family in conjunction with the development of the gardens behind this wing.

2. Windows

a. openings. No new window openings are known to have been cut into the body of the main house/wing; three openings at least, are known to have been filled in: one in the

southernmost bay, first floor, east wall of the store wing; one (probably) in the central bay, first floor, west wall of the store wing, where the French doors now are; and at least one in rear wall of the second floor ballroom where the ell now abuts.

b. Frames. The surviving window frames in the body of the main house/wing appear to ^{all} be identical, but,... the continuous architrave molding characteristic of these frames is now missing from the two window frames on the first floor of the southern end of the store wing. Perhaps this is merely a minor repair, but I wonder if this could be connected in any way with the insertion and/or removal of that second doorway into the store wing immediately behind this wall.

c. Sash. The late 19th century stereographs of the house (SPNEA Col.) show 6/6 sash in the front (eastern) and southern sides of the main block of the house, while the windows in the front and side of the store wing are filled with 12/12 sash. (The 12/12s in the eastern facade of the store wing were later replaced by 6/6s, which remain.) I suspect that the configuration shown in the stereo view may well have been original; individual lights as large as 11"x15" (the size of the panes in the six-light sash) are known to have been available, and to have been recommended for use in the best class of houses, as early as the 1790s. And it would not have been all that surprising to have found the use of the larger (and more expensive) lights limited to use in the main house.

d. Shutters. Early 19th century fixed-louver shutters measuring 20" wide presently hang on ^{the} front and ^{the} south end of the store wing, on the north side of main house, and on the second floor (south-facing) window in the cross-hallway. Later, mid-19th century movable-louver shutters of lighter construction and measuring only 18½" wide now hang on the front of the main house and on the four easternmost windows (two upstairs and two down) on the southern side of the main block. The frames of the windows now carrying the movable-

louver shutters, however, appear to bear pintle scars in positions appropriate for the earlier and narrower fixed-louver shutters.

3. Clapboards. Much of the clapboarding on main house and store wing appears original, displaying skived butts and being applied with cut nails with machine-made heads. Some patching has occurred; the largest section being on the western side of the store wing, which has been completely redone.

4. Pilasters and cornices. Outstanding original wooden trim with a few minor repairs. The now deteriorated wooden gutters should not be original -- they are hung in front of and largely obscure the delicate cove molding which crowns the cornice.

5. Balustrade. The present Gothic Revival balustrade at eaves level should date from around the turn of the century -- it is put together with wire nails, and it does not appear in the late 19th century stereograph in the SPNEA Col. That photo shows, instead, a classically derived balustrade which was likely original to the house. A long-term preservation plan for the house should include consideration of the possibility of reproducing that earlier balustrade (perhaps using the profiles of the apparently original balusters on the front porch as the basis for development of an appropriate eaves baluster shape). The house is going to look much plainer, without the delicate filigree of a balustrade crowning its eaves.

6. All four chimney stacks are in their original locations, although some amount of rebuilding above the roof is evident. No evidence for any additional chimney stacks has been discovered.

C. Interior features of the original building

1. General comments

a. Stencilling. One of the most outstanding features of the interior of the house is the early 19th century stencilling in a variety of patterns, found principally on the second floor -- in the ballroom, SE, NW, and NE chambers, and a portion of the former front hallway, and, on the first floor, on the plastered western wall of the store and on the wall of the adjoining hallway (which were once part of a single room). Except for

a heavy, floral dado stencil (clearly ~~late~~ Victorian) in the NE chamber, all of the stencilling in the house appears to have been done in a single campaign, probably undertaken shortly after the building was erected. Several of the stencils used appear to exactly match patterns found in at least three other New England houses: the Salmon Wood House, Hancock, N.H.; the Peter Farnum House, Frankestown, N.H.; and the King Hooper House, Marblehead, Mass. Photos of the stencilled walls in these three houses are reproduced in Janet Waring's Early American Stencils on Walls and Furniture, plates 48-49, 50-51, and 57. Nina Fletcher Little, in her American Decorative Wall Painting, 1700-1850, (pps. 101-103) includes these three houses among a group of a dozen New England buildings which contain distinctive (and, Mrs. Little believes, related) stencilled borders. Mrs. Little suggests that the stencilled decoration found in all of these dozen houses was the work of a single, unidentified itinerant. None of the additional patterns from the houses in this "border group" which Mrs. Little published, however, match any of the patterns in the Bullock House.

b. Other decorative painted effects. In addition to the extensive stencilling, the Bullock House interiors once boasted a wide variety of other painted and grained effects, of which only traces now remain. Floors -- chiefly of wide pine boards, the^{se} were originally intended to be covered, either by paint, carpets, floor cloths, mats, or whatever. A section of (perhaps original?) painted floor still exists in the china closet in the SE front room downstairs; this has a gray ground with, apparently, some large black figures painted upon it, perhaps in imitation of marble. A closet in the northern room within the second floor ballroom has another section of gray painted floor with swirling patterns of smaller black figures painted upon it. And most of the recently stripped floors in the major rooms downstairs clearly show multiple lines of tack scars around the edges of the room, indicating that some kind of carpets or mats were formerly stretched upon them. One fragment

of what appears to be canvas survives among the tacks which remain in place in the same china closet in the SE front room. Doors -- most of the original interior doors survive in the main block of the house; the majority of these have recently been stripped to bare wood. The doors are of pine, and most of the stripped examples clearly show distinctive patterns of staining which can only indicate that the original finish on these doors was an elaborate painted graining done in imitation of flame grain mahogany. Front staircase handrail --- like the doors, of pine, traces of painted graining are still visible along its sides.

c. Woodwork. Much of the original wooden trim within the house remains; the most elaborate sections are distinguished by the use of a distinctive little "torsade" (a cylindrical molding carrying a spiral channel) and/or sections of small-scale gouge carving.

d. Door hardware. Most of the original door latches have been replaced; the present white ^{ceramic?} ~~glass~~ knobs found throughout the house I would take to be late nineteenth century. A few original latches and box locks remain on doors in the store; it is clear from the shadows and scars on the recently stripped doors in the front of the house, that these doors once had box locks on them as well.

e. Clogston radiators. Scattered throughout the main block of the house are a group of very unusual and quite handsomely designed mid-nineteenth century cast iron radiators. Basically Egyptian Revival design, each bears "T.S. Clogston Patented Dec. 13, 1864" cast into it. Unusual, distinctive, and likely representative of a significant event in the building's history -- the introduction of central heat.

2. Major changes in floor plan

a. First floor, main block. The basic central- and cross-hallways plan appears to be original. The present staircase in the cross-hallway, however, is a late 19th century replacement. It is not at all clear at this point what the configuration and location of the original staircase was. The

present owners state, however, that clear evidence of a blocked-in doorway was, until recently, visible in the western wall of the stairwell at the level of the second floor.

b. First floor, store wing. The present hallway and small office are clearly the result of an early change in plan; there seems originally to have been a single, large room occupying the whole northern third of the store wing. Evidence: the northern bay of the store wing has plastered walls, and window frame architraves identical to those used in the main block of the house; the southern two bays have sheathed walls, simpler window trim;

the stencils on the western plaster wall run underneath the present partition wall and continue around the NW corner of the present hallway onto the front of the plastered chimney wall;

scars on the post casings and the northern interior column suggest that a partition formerly ran east-west across the store at this point, separating the northernⁿ bay from the two southern ones;

patch marks in the floor and in the wainscot/chair rail in the NE corner of the store wing indicate that the plastered wall running east along the ^{southern face} ~~front~~ of the ^{SW} ~~W~~ chimney stack once continued through to the eastern wall of the store ell, and contained a door opening near that wall;

an apparently original brick half-arch, thrown out from ~~XXXX~~ the southern face of the ^{SW} ~~W~~ chimney stack's base in the cellar, can only mean that there was originally a fireplace, facing south, in what is now the back hallway from the store to the west ell. (Conceivably, the simple Federal-style mantel in the present office space was originally located over this now disappeared fireplace, and was simply relocated around the corner when the alterations to the plan were made.)

I suspect that the changes in the plan here were made very early on, probably in connection with the addition of the western ell, possibly in conjunction with Rufus Bullock's decision to concern himself chiefly with manufacturing and

to turn over his country store business to his brother, Barnet Bullock. As Rufus Bullock purchased the South Royalston cotton and woolen mill in 1823, this decision to get out of trade could easily have been made ^{as early as} ~~anytime in~~ the 1820s.

c. Second floor, main block. A bathroom has been created by partitioning off a room in the east end of the front hallway (late 19th century?). Changes were likely made in the cross-hallway in connection with the insertion of the late nineteenth century staircase, but ^{it is} not now clear just what they might have been. A similar situation ^{prevails} in the whole ~~south~~ ~~north~~ western corner of this floor where I suspect that the present arrangement of three small rooms, back hallway to the ell, and two closets, bears little relationship to the original layout.

d. Second floor, wing. The cove-ceilinged ballroom originally occupied the entire upper floor of the wing; the present partitions dividing this space into three chambers and a hallway (with a lowered ceiling over only two of the chambers) appear to have been inserted in the mid-19th century.

3. Room-by-room comments, first floor

a. Front hallway. An original space with largely original details. Notable original features:

- i. vernacular Federal staircase appear^s completely intact;
- ii. note characteristic torsade on staircase handrail, on chair rail surmounting rising staircase wainscot, and outlining the cove molding in the wall cornice;
- iii. painted graining visible on handrail.

Notable alterations:

- i. mid-19th century wide frieze board with dentilled and bracketted cornice placed so as to cover over the original front doorway fanlight;

- ii. four-panel replacement door with white ceramic knob might have been inserted at the same time, along with the etched glass sidelights.

b. South front room. Probably the original dining room. An original space with largely original details.

Notable original features:

i. rather simple Federal-style woodwork -- mantel, door and window enframements, wainscot/chair rail, except for the cornice, which uses two courses of that distinctive little torsade;

ii. china closet under stairs appears entirely original, has molded edge shelves with dish tracks, has perhaps original gray paint with black figures (marbleizing?) on floor along with tacks and a bit of fabric (a fragment of canvas floorcloth?).

c. North front room. An original space with largely original details; the most elaborately detailed room in the main body of the house, the only room whose woodwork can rival that found in the ballroom.

Notable original features:

i. good country Federal mantel (replaced shelf and backboard), fancy reeded window and door frames, ornate dentilled wall cornice, and unusual Federal chair rail incorporating a carved band below the actual rail. Each of the above trim elements uses at least one course of the distinctive torsade. The chair rail band is ornamented with a gouge-carved pattern of elliptical interlaces enclosing four-pointed stars -- this pattern is strongly related to one of the stencilled border patterns found throughout the house; I wonder if it could have been copied (with a few alterations) from that border pattern? (This theory would require the stencilling to have been done during the building's original construction campaign, an idea which I consider quite plausible.)

Notable alterations:

i. Modern wooden mantel shelf and backboard have replaced a mid-19th marble unit (now in ell attic) which, presumably, replaced the original wooden shelf around the 1860s-70s.

d. Cross hallway. A largely original space now dominated by an altered feature -- the present staircase. (see comments under "Major changes in floor plan").

Notable alterations:

i. handsome Late Victorian black walnut staircase (c. 1870s-80s) has replaced original Federal-style staircase the exact configuration and layout of which is not now readily discernible. (My suspicion would be that the original unit might have been a much shorter and steeper affair set in approximately the same location; I could find no solid evidence for any kind of double stair in this hall.) It appears that the original Federal-period woodwork in this hallway was carefully re-used and/or reproduced during the insertion of the new staircase, in an effort to tie the new unit into the older space. (Note particularly how the Federal^{-style} wainscot/chair rail is used as a rising wainscot on the western wall of the new staircase -- a location in which it is almost certainly not original.) The presumed re-use/reproduction of Federal-style woodwork, and the now hundred-year masking of that carefully done later work under layers of paint and years of wear, makes it rather difficult to determine the exact nature of the changes then made, both in this hallway and on the floor above.

e. North rear room. The original north kitchen? A largely original space with largely original details. One of two rooms in the house which seems to have originally been occupied as a kitchen.

Notable original features:

- i. wide kitchen fireplace with bake oven set at north side under an apparently original sunken panel door;
- ii. simple Federal-style mantel;
- iii. simple beaded edge casing on projecting posts.

Notable alterations:

- i. replaced fireplace hearth;
- ii. a wall formerly ran from the north side of the chimney breast to the northern wall, roughly one foot back from the face of the chimney breast (perhaps an original closet?).

f. South rear room. The original south kitchen? An apparently original space, with largely altered details. One of two rooms in the house which seem to have originally been occupied as kitchens, this room seems to have given up its kitchen functions quite early on (perhaps in connection with Rufus Bullock's purchase of his brother's half-interest in the property in 1816?).

Notable original features:

i. the dimensions of the original wide fireplace opening can be gauged from the proportions of the remaining original mantelpiece -- the panelled door over the bake oven at the west end should be original, the remainder of the space inside the mantel enframingent should have originally been devoted to the large original fireplace opening.

Notable alterations:

i. the original wide kitchen fireplace opening has been cut down and two panels (upper and left-hand) inserted into the original mantelpiece enframingent, and the hearth was cut back equivalently.

g. Store, office and back hallway. A somewhat altered space with many original details. (See comments under "Major changes in floor plan" section.) The store, with its matched pair of free-standing Roman Doric interior columns, is a very rare surviving example of an early commercial interior.

Notable original features:

i. the two, solid-core turned columns;
ii. the border and frieze stencils in the northwestern corner of the store and hallway;

Notable alterations:

i. the curved section of built-in drawers, shelves, and counters (the five remaining drawers are labeled "Bonnet Silks, H'dkfs., Shawls, Capes & Collars, and Tapes &c) the drawer fronts are painted grained;

ii. simple Federal mantel in present small office (perhaps moved from the location of an original fireplace

in the southern face of the SW chimney stack, just around the corner from the present location?)

4. Room by room comments, second floor.

a. Front hallway/bathroom. An altered space with a mixture of original and altered details.

Notable original features:

i. upper portion of original, modest Federal staircase (portions removed from bathroom end are in the attic of the ell.)

ii. stencilling - borders and frieze are visible now only inside the bathroom

Notable alterations:

i. the creation of the bathroom itself out of the formerly open end of the front hallway;

ii. the rather heavy "Federal" cornice used in this bathroom/hallway, as well as the very similar cornices used in the other major second floor rooms and the cross-hallway upstairs, bother me. There seem to be no visible differences between segments of this cornice used on walls which are clearly original, and those used on walls which are apparently of much later date. And the character of these upstairs cornices seems markedly at odds with that of those almost certainly original cornices downstairs -- those downstairs cornices are each carefully built up of many, small, daintily profiled moldings including, in the major rooms, that characteristic little torsade. These upstairs cornices, on the other hand, are composed of only two big units -- a wide frieze band marked with panels of either flutes or reeding, and a heavy, crowning cyma -- and none of them use the characteristic torsade. I wonder if these cornices might date from a careful, late 19th century remodeling? (see also my comments on the first floor cross-hallway).

b. South front chamber. A largely original space with largely original details; one of the most elaborately stencilled rooms in the house, if that stencilling is not very well preserved.

Notable original features:

i. stencilling -- three different red-and-black border patterns are used, in addition to^a delicate swag frieze and two broad fields of bold potted flower designs, one on the chimney breast, the other between the two front windows;

ii. modest Federal mantel.

Notable alterations:

i. the built-in wardrobe should be a late 19th century addition, relatively fresh examples of the stencilling are concealed within it;

ii. the brick facing of the fireplace has been replaced;

iii. the heavy, "Federal-style" cornice makes me nervous (see comments under second floor front hallway.)

c. North front chamber. A largely original space with a mixture of altered and original features.

Notable original features:

i. stencilling, borders, frieze and field of potted flowers on chimney breast;

ii. simple Federal mantel.

Notable alterations:

i. the built-in late 19th century wardrobe;

ii. a late Victorian stencilled dado, (visible in the wardrobe);

iii. later doorway, with French door, cut through north wall out to second floor of sleeping porch;

iv. doorway into modern bath at north end of cross hallway is not original, as there is no stencilled border around it;

v. the brick facing of fireplace has been replaced.

d. Cross-hallway. I suspect this space has been somewhat altered (see comments under major changes in floor plan, and first floor, cross-hallway); the visually dominating feature at present, the black walnut staircase, is definitely an alteration.

Notable alterations:

i. there formerly was a doorway opening into this hallway from the middle room on the western side of the hall;

ii. there presumably once was a doorway from the hallway into the present bathroom at the northern end of the hall; the room itself here might conceivably have been original;

iii. the heavy, "Federal-style" cornice, again, makes me nervous.

e. North rear chamber. An original space with almost entirely original details; presently the best-preserved ensemble of stencilling in the entire house.

Notable original features:

i. stencilling -- separate horizontal and vertical border patterns, and a distinctive frieze of leaves and garlands set off peach colored fields on the upper walls and a red dado field on the wainscot. Not the most elaborate stencilling in the house, but both the stencilled patterns and the plain fields retain much of their original freshness, and the original Federal woodwork remains untouched. As a complete example of stencilled and painted Federal-period room, this is now the best example in the Bullock House.

ii. Simple Federal mantel.

Notable alterations;

i. the modern metal hood over the fireplace opening;

ii. the doorway cut into the middle room on the western side of the house is later alteration as the border stencil does not outline it.

f. Southwestern corner rooms. Altered spaces; see my comments under "Major changes in floor plan".

g. Ballroom. Originally (and, potentially once again) the most impressive interior space in the house; it still contains the finest woodwork found in the house. Now cut up into smaller spaces, it contains a mixture of original and altered features.

Notable original features:

- i. the coved ceiling;
- ii. the elaborate, built-up cornice (including, once again, two courses of that distinctive torsade);
- iii. the stencilling and painting -- the stencilled borders and frieze, the pink wall panels, the blue cove
- iv. the ornate, gouge-carved Federal mantel at the northern end of the original ballroom, with the related six-panel door to its east -- the fanciest mantel in the entire house. Both incorporate the familiar torsade.
- v. the perhaps? original decoratively painted floor visible in the closet in the northernmost of the later rooms -- a gray ground with swirling patterns of short black strokes.

Notable alterations:

- i. wainscot removed;
- ii. space subdivided into three small chambers and a hallway, probably in the mid-19th century;
- iii. a window in the northern end of west wall removed, patched in, when the western ell was added.

(I looked hard for evidence of a separate staircase coming up into the ballroom but found nothing solid. The addition and removal of the doorway in the southernmost bay of the east wall of the store downstairs was suggestive, however.)

5. Attic. Framing appears^s largely re-used (perhaps from a meetinghouse? from the size of the timbers); the major joints in that original framing system were hand numbered in black paint -- these numbers do not correspond to the present framing system, many joints have been re-cut, many others (including numerous half-dovetailed joist joints) now sit empty. In the present framing system three queen-post trusses span the main block of the house east-west -- one along the the northern line of the central hallway, and a pair along the hallway's southern line. Hip

rafters and dragon beams are thrown from these to the four corners of the wall plates. The roof of the southern wing is framed on a common rafter, 5-sided ridge pole system.

6. Cellar. Much altered framing system, with many re-used timbers, both as parts of the original construction and among the later alterations. Some of the same numbered timbers found here, as in the attic. No clear evidence now of an original interior cellar staircase. The base of the NW chimney stack has been partially rebuilt; it now contains the remains of a granite-linteled fireplace opening, and the present owners say it formerly contained a bake oven as well. Not known if either was original. The three other chimney bases, all containing barrel vaults, appear original. A short pine board used as a nailer just inside the rear sill above the entrance to the staircase from the western ell, was apparently used as a practice block by the carver who worked on the woodwork upstairs, as it bears several groups of gouge-carved flutes, as fresh as if they'd been carved yesterday, although the block is attached to the beam with rusted machine-made cut nails. The two large dressed granite slabs in the central section of the cellar near the north wall I would guess to be original (it's hard to imagine anyone moving them in once the house was built) but I will hazard no guesses as to what specific function they were originally intended to serve.

7. The western ell, inner portion.

In my opinion, this structure was never an independent dwelling-house; its form and layout are that of a service ell. If it was not built on this site specifically as a service ell for the Bullock House, then I suspect that it must have originally been the ell of some other house, before it was moved here and attached to the Bullock House. (Structurally, this inner section is composed of just two bays, each measuring roughly 16' by 20' -- this is definitely not an accepted dwelling-house form in the eighteenth or

early nineteenth centuries.) Nor do I think that there is any chance that this structure dates from the eighteenth century. I could find only machine-made cut nails in it; the extensive beaded edge sheathing used in it should similarly indicate an early nineteenth century date, and the fat little echinus molding used as a bed mold under the mantel shelf in the major first floor room (which could be original) even shows a touch of Greek Revival influence.

There appears to have been a "set kettle" or boiler (the mid-19th century equivalent of a washing machine) formerly built into the western side of the chimney stack at the first floor level; the large original hearth area would correspond.

A second floor door into the attic of the outer section of the ell shows mid-19th century painted oak graining (not to be confused with the earlier and much finer flame mahogany graining once found on the doors in the front part of the main house.)

The western ell, outer portion.

A late 19th century addition to the inner ell, with a separate frame, and put together largely out of re-used timbers. It apparently replaced an earlier and smaller ell extension, the profile of which can be partially seen in the patterns of still-attached lath, plaster, and clapboards visible from the attic in the joint between the present inner and outer ell sections.

8. Outbuildings/grounds.

The two major outbuildings presently standing on the property, a large, end-opening barn and a smaller, end-opening former "engine-house"?, both located just off the edge of the common south of the house, should both date from the mid-19th century. Both have Greek Revival cornice moldings, both have been considerably altered, and both are currently more important as evocative visual fragments of an historic

rural townscape than as individually significant monuments.

The cast iron fence outlining the formal front yard should date from early in the second half of the 19th century; it is handsome in itself and an authentic part of the history of the property, it well merits careful rehabilitation.

The granite posts which outline the remaining frontage of the property might possibly date from the time of the house's construction; the wooden picket fence which now runs alongside these posts, however, is a replacement, perhaps of the time of the Hills, and may be part of the larger terrace-and-ornamental-garden plan which the Hills seem to have established particularly in the rear of the house.

APPENDIX A.

Summary Chain of Title

The Bullock Mansion lot

The Common

Royalston, Mass.

(All citations are to records found in the Worcester)
 (County Registries of Deeds and Probate, unless)
 (otherwise noted.)

6543/101 Royalston Academy Inc. to Werner and Patience
 1978 Bundschuh

4393/544 Donald M. Hill, Jr., et als to Royalston
 1963 Academy Inc.

Middlesex Probate 369,822 Estate of Donald M. Hill, Sr.
 1961

2037/454 William H. Hill to Donald M. Hill
 1913

1786/406 Robert E. Goodwin to William H. Hill
 1904

1786/190 Sarah M. Hill to Robert E. Goodwin (dummy)
 1904

1429/20 J. Harris Aubin to Sarah M. Hill
 1893

1429/18 William H. Hill to J. Harris Aubin (dummy)
 1893

1356/92 Emily (Bullock) Ripley to William H. Hill
 1891

613/43 Alexander H. Bullock and Rebecca (Bullock)
 1859 Wheeler to Emily Bullock, 2/3 interest

Probate A 8927 Estate of Rufus Bullock
 1858

202/308 Molten Bullock 2nd to Rufus Bullock, 1/2 interest
 1816

168/591 Anthony Dumesnil to Rufus and Molton 2nd Bullock
 1807

158/27 John Samuel Capt. to Anthony Dumesnil
 1805

Summary chain of title cont'd.

153/21
1803

John Whitney to John Samuel Capt.

152/245
1803

Henry and Samuel, Jr. Godard to John Whitney

152/459
1802

Preserved Alger to Henry and Samuel Jr. Godard

146/252
1802

Peleg Kingsley to Preserved Alger

APPENDIX B.

List of Sources

Books and articles

- Bullock, Alexander H., et als, [Proceedings at the Royalston Centennial] (Winchendon: Frank W. Ward, 1865).
- Caswell, Lilley B., The History of the Town of Royalston, Massachusetts (Royalston: by the Town, 1917).
- Crane, Ellery B., ed., Historic Homes and Institutions and Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Worcester County, Massachusetts (New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1907).
- Davis, William T., "Royalston," in D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., History of Worcester County, Massachusetts (Philadelphia: J.W.Lewis & Co., 1889).
- Forbes, Abner, and Greene, J.W., "Our First Men," or A Catalogue of the Richest Men of Massachusetts (Boston: Pettridge and Company, 1851).
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- Spencer, C.A.W., Spencer's Brookline Directory for 1894 (Brookline: C.A.W. Spencer, 1894).
- Waring, Janet, Early American Stencils on Walls and Furniture (New York: William R. Scott, 1937).

Maps (chronological list)

- 1794 William Town, "Plan of Royalston," Mass. State Archives,
1794 Series, Vol. 4, p. 11, No. 1278.

- 1830 Jonathan Blake, Jr., "Plan of Royalston," Mass. State Archives, 1830 Series, Vol. 4, p. 2, No. 2136.
- 1857 Henry F. Walling, Map of Worcester County, Mass. (Boston: Henry F. Walling, 1857).
- 1870 F.W.Beers, Atlas of Worcester County, Massachusetts (New York: F.W. Beers, 1870).
- 1898 L.J. Richards & Co., New Topographical Atlas of the County of Worcester, Mass. (Philadelphia: L.J. Richards & Co.).

Photographs

Kingsley, Elbridge, and Knab, Frederick, Picturesque Worcester, Part II - North (Springfield: The W.F. Adams Company, 1895) p. 30, "Near the Church in Royalston," shows a corner of the Bullock property and the cast iron fence.

Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Visual Resources Center, "Royalston Mass. Ancient" folder contains two late 19th century stereographs of ^{the} house in a larger collection of stereographs of Royalston which all appear to have been taken at one time.

"Royalston, Mass. Ancient & Modern" folder contains a large collection of both interior and exterior photos of the house taken by Gordon Sweet, Mt. Carmel, Ct., in June of 1970.

Manuscripts

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester. "Royalston Tax Lists, 1815."

Mass. State Archives, Boston. U.S. Census of Massachusetts, manuscript schedules from the Seventh (1850), Eighth (1860), Ninth (1870), and Tenth (1880) censuses of Royalston.